

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-10

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USIA-06 IO-10 SAM-01 SAJ-01 OMB-01 ACDA-05 /085 W

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R 220727Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0323

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

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E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, JA, CH

SUBJ: PRC-JAPAN PEACE/FRIENDSHIP TREATY: MIKI'S FOUR POINTS

REF: TOKYO 6444

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

SUMMARY: IN LATE EFFORT TO CONCLUDE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH PEKING, PRIME MINISTER MIKI HAS GONE OUTSIDE HIS BUREAUCRACY FOR ADVICE AND DEVELOPED A NEW "FOUR POINT" POLICY DESIGNED TO CONVINCE CHINESE OF HIS TRUSTWORTHINESS. POINTS REAFFIRM COMMITMENT TO '72 COMMUNIQUE AND CALL FOR EARLY CONCLUSION OF TREATY BASED ON PRINCIPLES OF '72 COMMUNIQUE, WHICH INCLUDES, OF COURSE, "ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE". FEELING FURIOUS AND UNDERCUT, FONOFF (AND AMB OGAWA) ARE FACED WITH INSTRUCTIONS WHICH SEEM LIKELY EITHER TO DEEPEN FURTHER CHINESE SUSPICIONS ABOUT MIKI GOVERNMENT OR TO RESULT IN DRAFT TREATY UNACCEPTABLE TO MAJORITY OF LDP AND, IN FONOFF EYES, DISADVANTAGEOUS TO JAPAN'S INTERESTS. END SUMMARY.

1. DISTURBED BY PRESS ASSESSMENTS THAT GOJ HAD GIVEN UP HOPE OF  
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EARLY CONCLUSION ON PEACE/FRIENDSHIP TREATY (PFT) WITH PEKING,

PM MIKI WENT AROUND HIS BUREAUCRACY MAY 16 TO ENLIST THE AID OF JAPAN-CHINA FRIENDSHIP VETERAN KAHEITA OKAZAKI, DIRECTOR JAPAN-CHINA ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION, IN DRAFTING "FOUR POINTS" AS BASIS FOR FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS. AS CONVEYED TO US BY CHINA DIVDIR FUJITA, FOUR POINTS ARE: A) THERE HAS BEEN NO CHANGE IN MIKI KABINET POLICY TO CONCLUDE PFT AT EARLY DATE AND TO CONSOLIDATE FOUNDATIONS OF LASTING RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN. B) JAPAN-PRC '72 COMMUNIQUE IS SOLEMN PLEDGE BETWEEN LEADERS OF BOTH NATIONS AND NEGOTIATIONS (OF PFT) SHOULD BE CONDUCTED WITH THIS FACT IN MIND. C) THERE SHOULD BE NO RETREAT FROM PRINCIPLES OF '72 COMMUNIQUE. D) WHEN AMB OGAWA RETURNED TO POST (MAY 18), HE WOULD CONVEY THIS POLICY TO CHINESE AND DEVOTE UTMOST EFFORTS TO CONCLUDING PFT. SUSPENSION OF NEGOTIATIONS WAS ABSOLUTELY OUT OF QUESTION.

2. FONOFF WAS FURIOUS OVER WHAT AMOUNTED TO REVERSAL OF MIKI'S AGREEMENT WITH FONMIN MIYAZAWA AND AMB OGAWA MAY 15, THE PREVIOUS DAY, TO HOLD LINE ON "HEGEMONY" BUT CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS WITH PEKING WITHOUT PRESSURE OF TARGET DATE FOR CONCLUSION. FUJITA TOLD US MIKI'S ACTION UNDERMINED FONOFF AS NEGOTIATOR AND CONCEDED GOJ TACTICAL DIPLOMATIC ADVANTAGE TO PEKING. MIKI HAD, IN EFFECT, PUBLICLY ACQUIESCED IN PEKING'S POSITION, A POSITION WHICH FONOFF BELIEVES STRONGLY TO BE DISADVANTAGEOUS TO JAPAN'S INTERESTS AND WHICH IS ALSO NOT SUPPORTED BY THE LDP. MOREOVER, MIKI'S "FOUR POINTS" WOULD CONVINCE PEKING THAT FONOFF, NOT MIKI, WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR ROADBLOCK IN PFT NEGOTIATIONS AND FONOFF NEGOTIATORS IN FUTURE, IN VARIETY OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH PEKING, WOULD SUFFER FROM MIKI'S ILL-CONSIDERED ACTION.

3. FORMER PM TANAKA AND FORMER FONMIN OHIRA, FUJITA CONTINUED, WOULD HAVE BREEZED THROUGH PFT DRAFTING WITH PEKING SINCE CHINESE TRUSTED THEM AND WOULD HAVE MADE NO RIGID DEMANDS IN THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATING TREATY. IN FONOFF EYES, MIKI, WHO HAS NEVER BEEN TRAINED IN THE BUREAUCRACY, WAS DAMNED FROM START, PARTICULARLY SINCE HE CAME INTO OFFICE WITH DEP PREMIER FUKUDA AND A GROUP OF OTHER PRO-TAIWAN SENIOR LDP DIETMEN. FUJITA CONCLUDED, SOMEWHAT UNEXPLICABLY, BY CONTENDING THAT FAILURE TO ACCIEVE TREATY NOW MIGHT RESULT IN DELAY OF FIVE YEARS UNTIL ANOTHER PRO-CHINESE PREMIER TAKES OVER IN JAPAN WHO CAN AGAIN WIN PEKING'S CONFIDENCE.

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4. COMMENT: MIKI MAY INDEED BE BURDENED IN DEALING WITH THE CHINESE BY THE EQUIVOCAL NATURE OF HIS MANDATE, HIS RELIANCE ON PRO-TAIWAN FUKUDA FACTIONS FOR APPROVAL, AND STRENGTH OF THE CONSERVATIVE WING WITHIN THE LDP. HOWEVER, FOREIGN OFFICE PIQUE OBSCURES THE FACT THAT OTHER EVENTS -- LEAKS TO THE PRESS, AMBASSADOR TROYANOVSKY'S PUBLIC COMPLAINTS -- ALL SERVED TO FOCUS ATTENTION ON HEGEMONY CLAUSE AND HEIGHTEN FOREIGN OFFICE RESISTANCE TO IT. RESULTANT JAPANESE INFLEXIBILITY ON THE ISSUE MAY HAVE

LOOKED TO CHINESE AS IF MIKI PERSONALLY WAS RETREATING FROM THE TANAKA-OHIRA COMMITMENTS, WHICH WAS NOT ACTUALLY THE CASE. MORE-OVER, MIKI'S GUIDANCE TO FONOFF MAY NOT HAVE BEEN VERY CLEAR, BUT HE DOES NOT DESERVE ALL THE BLAME BY ANY MEANS FOR THE DEAD-LOCK.

5. WE ARE NOT QUITE SURE WHAT PROPOSAL AMB OGAWA BROUGHT BACK TO CHINA, MIKIS OR THE FONOFF'S, BUT IT APPEARS OGAWA WAS INST-RUCTED TO ATTEMPT TO CONVINCE CHINESE THAT MIKI CABINET IS SINCERE IN DESIRE TO CONCLUDE THE TREATY WITH CHINA. HAVING ESTABLISHED MIKI'S FIDELITY TO '72 COMMUNIQUE, WE ASSUME OGAWA WILL TRY AGAIN TO SELL CHINESE ON PROPOSAL ROUGHLY SIMILAR TO THAT MADE BY VICE FONMIN TOGO IN HIS MEETING WITH AMB CHEN CHU, I.E. INCOR-PORATION OF PRINCIPLE OPPOSING HEGEMONY BY JAPAN AND CHINA OR OTHERS, SINGLY OR IN CONCERT, INTO PREAMBLE OF TREATY.

6. CHINESE MAY, OF COURSE, READ MIKI'S FOUR POINTS IN ENTIRELY DIFFERENT WAY, PERHAPS AS COMMITMENT ON MIKI'S PART TO INCLUSION IN BODY OF TREATY AS DEMANDED AS RECENTLY AS MAY 19 BY PRC DEP PREMIER LI HSIEN-NIEN. THUS, OGAWA'S PRESENTATION MAY EVEN DEEPEN CHINESE SUSPICIONS, IF OGAWA CANNOT AGREE TO INCLUSION OF "ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE" IN BODY OF TREATY.

7. BEYOND SQUABBLES IN GOJ, VENUE FOR NEGOTIATIONS HAS MOVED TO PEKING AND INITIAL LUCK AMB OGWA HAS IN CONVINCING PEKING OF MIKI'S RESOLUTENESS SHOULD BECOME APPARENT FAIRLY SOON. FONOFF'S AND AMB OGAWA'S TASK SEEMS MORE COMPLICATED FOLLOWING PROMULGATION OF "FOUR POINTS". DIMENSIONS OF GOJ DILEMMA NOW APPEAR TO BE:  
A) TO CONVINCE CHINESE OF TRUSTWORTHINESS OF MIKI GOVERNMENT WHILE OFFERING WARMED-OVER PROPOSAL FOR TREATY'S PREAMBLE OR B) TO BOW TO CHINESE INSISTENCE TO INCLUDE CLAUSE IN BODY OF TREATY CAUSING DEFLECTION OF MAJOR SUPPORTERS FOR TREATY IN LDP.

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